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Charlotte Bosseaux

'Bloody hell. Sodding, blimey, shagging, knickers, bollocks. Oh God, I'm English': Translating Spike.

Buffy the Vampire Slayer (*BtVS*) has enjoyed a worldwide success and is still broadcast in several countries such as France and the UK.[1] The show has also been studied by academics from various backgrounds, such as cultural studies, and it is fair to say that it has now reached cult status. The show has been praised for the construction of 'believable' characters and its use of creative language, the 'Buffyspeak', characterised by neologisms, humour, and slang. However, another linguistic element worth investigating is how translation mediates the use of British English as opposed to American English, since the characterisation of the two main British characters, Rupert Giles and Spike, played respectively by Anthony Stewart Head and James Marsters, is primarily based on their British identity, cultural background, accents, and vocabulary use.

Vampires have been travelling for centuries and their presence has been reported on many continents. Their stories have been written in many languages and circulated abroad via translation. In a similar fashion, in order to reach various foreign audiences, *BtVS* has been translated worldwide and Spike has been travelling around the world; or rather his translated version has, reaching many destinations such as Japan and Russia. While the Anglophone world does not need different linguistic versions, other countries do and in France there are two translated versions of *BtVS*, one dubbed and the other subtitled.[2]

This article links Spike to concepts of class and national identity by examining the significance of his Britishness in the American background in which he lives. Characterisation is first presented; then more information on the dubbing and subtitling process is provided. Spike is subsequently presented in the context of the original version of *BtVS* with an emphasis on his Britishness and class provenance. Afterwards, I move on to Spike in the French dubbed and subtitled versions to see if his British identity is maintained in translation. The analysis considers James Marster's performance to show how meaning as a whole is transferred in translation, and how British Spike 'sounds' in French. The article ultimately reflects on vampiric otherness and how translation might be used to efface or reduce otherness; which according to Gelder is Dracula's deepest desire.[3]

Characterisation and character perception are part of the fictional universe presented in a text, which in previous works I have called the 'feel' of a text.[4] To identify such a feel in audiovisual material, micro-elements at the level of vocabulary, grammar and visuals are used since they build up to give audiences a specific image of a fictional world. Linguistic elements as well as non-linguistic codes of film are used as they are manifested in features of performance such as speech and voice characteristics, facial expressions, and gestures. My main interest is on the effect translation has on performance and on the impact of translation on a character's identity.

According to Dyer, performance is 'how the action/function is done, how the lines are said'.[5] From a semiotic perspective, signs of performance are facial expressions, gestures, body postures and movements, items of clothing, the use of lighting and voice.[6] One of these signs, voice quality, or 'the permanently present, background, person-identifying feature of speech', is of particular interest in translation and can be

defined from a linguistic perspective by characteristics such as tempo or pitch, or 'impressionistically' by affective terms such as 'poignant' and 'breathy'.[7]

Studying voice falls into the remit of sound studies and film studies and is still a rather under-researched field. Major studies on voice started in the 1980s within a psychoanalytical framework.[8] Recent studies focus more on practical aspects with detailed film analysis. For instance, when analysing performance and voice, Andrew Klevan also points to the importance of tone and the use of special/repetitive vocabulary.[9] This is particularly interesting from a translation point of view as translation allows a certain degree of change or manipulation. However, the impact translation may have, or the importance of choosing a voice for a dubbed version, have hardly been discussed in film studies or translation studies. Daniel Meyer-Dinkgräfe does note in an article on the various phases of the dubbing process in Germany that:

> a 'good' voice is necessary for an actor to be successful in dubbing; 'good' in this context means several things: the actors need to be able to use their voices effortlessly [...] The dubbing voice thus has to be both appropriate for the original actor and it should appeal to a wide range of listeners.[10]

This highlights the difference between the 'characteristics' of original and dubbed voices: but what is an 'appropriate' choice? Can viewers be expected to engage differently because of changes in voice?

Studies in Audiovisual Translation have covered various areas. There have been many studies on the media constraints inherent in dubbing and subtitling and the relative merits of these two modes of translation; the norms or conventions that operate in the translations into the target culture or the translation of ideological and cultural

elements. However, only a limited number of studies look into the presentation of characters, a gap which my work sets out to fill.

There are two main translation modes: dubbing and subtitling.[11] On the one hand, dubbing involves replacing the soundtrack of an original product with new voices speaking the language of the target culture in which it is screened. For instance in Italy, Spike speaks Italian. On the other hand, subtitling refers to the superimposition of a written text in the language spoken by the target audience, normally placed at the bottom the screen.

These translation techniques have various constraints, some common to both types, such as time synchrony: the subtitles have to follow the timing of scenes and sequences and must move forward as actions do, while in dubbing voices must be synchronised with original ones. Then, dubbing has specific constraints such as lip synchronisation, while subtitling involves a certain amount of dialogue reduction because of the limited amount of characters allowed on screen.[12]

If subtitling allows the original dialogue, the voice quality, and intonation of the original actors to be retained, it also 'constitutes a fundamental break with the semiotic structure of sound film by re-introducing [...] written signs, as an additional semiotic layer'.[13] On the other hand, dubbing 'retain[s] the semiotic composition of the original while recreating the semantic content in another (verbal) language'.[14] As a result, both modes can be expected to have an impact on the way characters get portrayed in translation. Moreover, since performance is historically and culturally bound, audiences worldwide can be expected to interpret a performance according to their own specific backgrounds.[15] It thus seems relevant to wonder what happens to the performance of Spike in translation, and particularly in dubbing since his original voice is replaced. The

subsequent analysis investigates how different translation modes impact on the perception of Spike's otherness.

As explained previously characterisation in an audiovisual product can be studied by investigating the traits of characters, their actions and relationships through actors' performance, speech and voice characteristics, facial expression, gestures, and camera angles. In the context of translation, some of these parameters of character construction remain such as gestures, actions and *mise en scène*. However, in dubbing, the speech of characters is altered. Spike's persona is therefore scrutinised to see what is the impact of translation on his characterisation.

BtVS tells the story of a young American girl whose mission is to rid the world of evil forces. In America, the series was broadcast on Warner Bros (1997–2001) and UPN (2001–2003). In France, *Buffy contre les Vampires* [Buffy against the vampires] was aired from April 1998 on Série club (cable) and M6 (terrestrial).[16] As mentioned previously, *BtVS*'s creative language, the 'Buffyspeak' is particularly remarkable and a comparison of the original version (OV), the dubbed version (DV), and the subtitled version (SV), shows that dialogues in the OV tend to be sharper and more daring than those of the DV. The DV can be more neutral and language more dated. The SV is usually closer to the OV identity, most particularly when slang and sexual terms are used. For instance, in 'Becoming Part 2' when Buffy tells Spike that his 'girlfriend is a big ho'. The DV translates 'big ho' with 'ta petite copine te largue' [your girlfriend dumps you] where the SV uses 'poufiasse' [slag].[17]

Neutralisation can also be seen in the translation of cultural references. For instance, in the same episode when Spike explains why he does not want the world to end, he enumerates things he loves, including 'Manchester United'. The DV uses the

generic 'les équipes de foot' [football teams] whereas the SV keeps it. Spike then says 'Goodbye Piccadilly, farewell Leicester bloody Square'. These lines come from the popular British anthem 'It's a Long Way to Tipperary' and further reinforce Spike's Britishness and his sense of home; being a direct quote from a marching song from WWI. The DV uses more general expressions, 'Adieu beaux paysages, bon vent le monde entier' [Farewell beautiful landscapes, good riddance to the entire world], while the SV keeps the references to London landmarks and drops the British-English adjective 'bloody' translating 'Adieu [Farewell] Piccadilly, Leicester Square'. Moreover, Spike's register in French is higher than in the English version.

Such translation strategies in the DV echo Peter Fawcett's conclusions when investigating French films and how they are subtitled in Britain and America.[18] Fawcett explains that foreign elements are filtered through the dominant culture and denounces a normalising approach where cultural references are translated with strategies of generalisation, adaptation, and substitution. The foreign culture is 'made invisible'. Should we therefore expect Spike's Britishness to be neutralised and his vampiric otherness 'made invisible' in the French translations?

Spike, a 120-year old British vampire played by American actor James Marsters, is particularly interesting to analyse from a translation point of view precisely because of his English descent. For an American viewer, Spike is also reminiscent of punk vampires as they appear in *Lost Boys* (dir. Joel Schumacher, 1987). However, the punk associations go beyond that as Spike is a:

> peculiarly American interpretation of the 1980s English punk, and in fact pulls directly on the image of Billy Idol. He looks and dresses like Billy Idol, and affects the same self-conscious irony of camp. He even

> speaks like Billy Idol in a put-on mock cockney accent, or 'mockney'. That plays up to American preconceptions of the English bad-boy.[19]

He is a 'cheerfully vicious black-leather-wearing punk with peroxide blond hair'.[20] Spike's vampiric otherness is therefore conveyed through a fascinating visual and linguistic performance of a stereotypical impression of English punk. This is where his attraction lies and here, class intersects with sexuality – in British idiom, Spike is 'a bit of rough'.[21]

In his human life, Spike had been William. He belonged to an upper-middle-class family in Victorian times. He was shy, lived with his mother and wrote sentimental poetry. He was notoriously mocked by his fellowmen for his bad poetry which earned him the name of 'William the Bloody' 'because of his bloody awful poetry'. But, on being turned into a vampire, human upper-class William became Spike and adopted a lower-class accent.

The aristocratic English vampire is an important archetype, appearing in Byron, Polidori, and Rice, for instance, which has been described at length in vampire studies.[22] However, Spike does not conform to this archetype; he is cooler than that. Becoming working-class is a rebellious act against what/who he was. Spike

> reinvents himself ... adopting a working-class persona and becoming a fearsome killer. Over the course of more than 100 years he makes himself the scourge of Europe, and manages to kill two of Buffy's Slayer predecessors – one in 1900 during the Boser Rebellion in China and another one in New York in 1977.[23]

Nevertheless, despite being non-conformist, Spike is still a typical vampire who has travelled the world. Like Polidori's Lord Ruthven or Rice's Lestat, Spike is a 'citizen of

the world' who has been as far as China to kill his first slayer.[24] And despite having travelled with other vampires, he still remains an outcast, not belonging fully to either the vampire world or the Scooby Gang.[25] Spike is reminiscent of the 'Byronic image of a solitary wanderer in a perpetual state of exile'.[26] He is a type of Giaour: 'a degenerate figure who is more destructive than creative, more a problem to national identity than a solution'.[27]

Spike is a '"cosmopolitan" or internationalised character who is excessive to national identities'; like Dracula, he is 'fiercely nationalistic' and has a 'strange intonation'.[28] Moreover, like Vambery and Dracula, Spike is a character whose '"polyphony" and ability to circulate freely – to traverse national boundaries – signify nothing less than his irreducible otherness'.[29] However, unlike Dracula, Spike does not wish to 'efface his otherness and resemble the West'; he wants to 'circulate freely' in America and stay British.[30] The question then to be posed is how translation affects Spike's complex persona? And how does translation impact on the questions of identity and otherness that the vampire poses.

Turnbull stresses that spectators engage with the 'embodied performance' of Spike's character and that this is 'the basis for fan engagement in the show'.[31] However, commenting on an interview with Marsters, she notes that, unlike his character, he does not have an English accent; therefore, he is not Spike. This type of fan identification definitely raises the question of voice in translation and more specifically to what happens to audience's engagement if a character speaks a different language and has a different voice. Could this engagement be different? This seems a likely outcome.

Hence, Spike is a complex figure. His performance as a human, a vampire pre- and post- 'ensoulment', makes him an interesting character to analyse in translation. He

is the English 'bad boy' of American Sunnydale; he smokes, drinks and wears his signature black leather coat. Visually he is identifiable as a bad boy and his speech also reflects this. In translation, the visuals do not change; Spike still has his coat and his blond peroxyde hair but translation will modify the marked vocabulary and British accent which cast him into a particular role.

Spike is to be seen as an opposite of Giles; both characters come from different social backgrounds and this is evident in their accents and vocabulary. Spike's characterisation is investigated in one passage of the episode 'Tabula Rasa'.[32] In this episode, Willow casts a spell so that Buffy and Tara forget about painful experiences. However, the spell goes wrong and all the characters forget who they are after falling into a deep sleep. When they wake up, they slowly recover their identity and Spike and Giles become aware of their Britishness.

In the OV, when Willow and Tara say that they are in a magic shop, Giles comments:

> Magic? Magic's all balderdash and chicanery. I'm afraid we don't know a bloody thing. Except I seem to be British, don't I? And a man with glasses. Well, that narrows it down considerably. We'll get our memory back. It'll all be right as rain.[33]

In terms of *mise-en-scène*, Giles and Spike are the main focus and shots go from one character to the next as they speak, showing their physical and emotional reactions. Body posture, gestures, facial expressions and tone (that is, pitch and intonation) need all be read in conjunction to appreciate the characters' performances. Then, Spike comments: 'Oh listen to Mary Poppins. He's got his crust all stiff and upper, with that Nancy-boy accent. You Englishmen are always so ...'. He then realises that he is also

English and adds: 'Bloody hell. Sodding, blimey, shagging, knickers, bollocks. Oh God. I'm English.'

Spike enumerates words that are from a British-English vocabulary. They relate to sex ('sodding', 'shagging'), anatomy ('bollocks'), items of clothing ('knickers') and there is one interjection ('bloody hell'). The adjective 'bloody' is one of the recurrent words used mainly by Spike; Giles also uses it but less often.

Giles retorts 'Welcome to the Nancy tribe'. He has a very stereotypical upper-class English accent; his tone is monotonous as he speaks with a constant rhythm and not much change in speed. He sounds formal and posh but at the same time he is very positive. He has a relaxed and soothing voice. He is calm, in control. His voice is smooth and his pitch is higher than Spike's. Spike's accent is more working class then Giles'; it is 'mockney'. His voice is sharper and rougher than Giles and he sounds arrogant. His voice is tenser when he utters sarcastic or humorous comments. Spike's voice is deep and grainy. He speaks quickly. His voice conveys quick-wittedness and cheekiness and it is tenser because of his speed. Let us now see what happens to Spike in translation.[34] Giles says:

> DV: Magic, ah! magic is all stupidity and nonsense. We hardly know more I'm afraid. Except that I've got British unflappability eh, eh. So I'm English, I'm a man who wears glasses. Well this reduces our field of investigation. We'll get our memory back and the fog will dissipate.
>
> SV: Magic is balderdash and the like. I think we know nothing at all. Only that I'm British and of male sex and that I wear glasses. This

> reduces the number of possibilities. We'll get our memory back and everything will be back in order.

Spike retorts:

> DV: Listen to the 'roast beef'. Hearing him you could think he's announcing the weather forecast on TV. You Englishmen are so. Damn, Queen Elizabeth, Big Ben, the Tower of London, the Thames, Buckingham. Oh no. I'm British.
>
> SV: Listen to MP. He doesn't lose his composure and his sissy accent. You Englishmen are always so. Damn. Damn it, shit, fornicate, marmalade, gosh. Blimey. I'm English.

And Giles responds: 'Welcome to the roast beef club' (DV) and 'Welcome to the sissy tribe' (SV).

Both translations play on different stereotypes. Mary Poppins, played by Julie Andrews in the eponymous film (dir. Robert Stevenson, 1964) is the quintessential English nanny. Her name conveys connotations of gentleness and kindness. The musical has also been often ridiculed for its Cockney stereotypes, with the cockney chimney sweep played by American actor Dick Van Dyke, and this ties in nicely with other references of Britishness. Giles is similarly looking after everyone; he is calming people, trying to make sense of the situation whilst keeping his composure. The original also plays on the stereotyped view that English people have an effeminate accent. The DV picks up on the OV's vocabulary about rain. Englishness is alluded to but the reference to Mary Poppins is replaced by the term 'rosbif', a pejorative term used to echo the stereotypical image that English people like having beef for their Sunday roast. Typical food and reference to the weather are thus used to characterise Englishness in

the DV, which does not convey the sexual connotations of 'nancy-boy accent'. On the other hand, the SV retains 'Mary Poppins' and the effeminate connotations of 'nancy-boy.'[35]

Spike, in the DV, lists British landmarks after using 'bon sang' for the very British 'bloody hell', an equivalent but dated translation. Therefore, Spike can establish that he is British because he can enumerate various famous English landmarks. The SV uses adjectives and nouns which are dated and archaic such as the interjections 'Sacrément', 'flûte', and 'fichtre'. The verb 'forniquer' is also dated but keeps the original reference to sex ('sodding' and 'shagging'). There is also one reference to food. In the SV, Britishness is mainly associated with sexual orientation ('chochottes') and outdated vocabulary ('Sacrément', 'flûte', 'fichtre'). In the DV, Britishness is mainly identified through iconic monuments ('Big Ben', 'Buckingham'), food ('rosbifs') and allusions to the weather ('météo'). All sexual connotations are erased and slang is neutralised.

The two French versions thus reinforce two different ways of characterising or stereotyping Britishness: in the DV, British people are identified through iconic monuments, stereotypes connected to the weather, composure, food and conservative or outdated vocabulary. In the SV, Britishness is associated with sexual orientation, as in the original and outdated vocabulary.

Before turning to Spike's voice it is important to note that, even if *mise-en-scène* stay intact in translation, the different vocabulary choices do lead to a mismatch between facial expressions and words uttered. The shot changes and verbal cues of Britishness match visually, but Britishness does not operate on the same level in the translations: the characters' looks and facial expressions still convey that Spike's tone

and what he says is a source of strangeness, but the reasons for this strangeness change as the words have different connotations. Therefore the characters' surprise emanate from other reasons.

What about voices? French Spike sounds more posh, more educated, and slightly more reserved than his British version. His pitch is higher, which is in line with the rest of the cast as most characters have a higher pitch in the dub, female and male alike. Whereas there was roughness and depth in Spike's original voice, there is less so in French: his voice is cleaner, smoother; it is not grainy. His voice is deeper, and he sounds older, even older than Giles. He speaks more slowly than Giles. He does not sound cheeky, but pessimistic. In terms of accent, there is no reminder of Britishness. He also sounds slightly more educated. In the OV, his English accent is used to convey a 'bad boy' attitude but this personality trait disappears in the DV, which can be said to efface layers of Spike's identity. Vocally, Spike blends in more than in the OV since he has a standard French accent. It is easier to convey Giles's 'posh' character in French than the connotations of Spike's accent: Giles in French sounds upper class and well educated. His higher status is conveyed coherently in the DV and also in the SV because of his register and vocabulary choices.

As the characters continue to recover their identities, since Spike and Giles are both English, they think that they might be related: Spike could be Giles' son. Giles asks him 'What did I call you?' Spike looks into his suit jacket in the hope of finding a clue. He reads: '"Made with care for Randy". Randy Giles? Why not just call me "Horny" Giles or "Desperate for a shag" Giles?'. The adjective 'randy' in British-English means feeling great sexual desire; an expression synonymous with 'horny'.

Again Spike's Britishness is expressed through his accent and the British-English vocabulary. The translations offer:

> DV: 'Manufactured for Candid'. 'Candid' Giles? Why not call me 'innocent' Giles or 'simple' Giles while you're at it.
>
> SV: 'Made with care for Thepenis'. 'Thepenis'? And why not 'hard-on' Giles or 'I've got a hard-on' Giles.

In the DV 'Randy' is translated with 'Candide'. *Candide* is the title of a tale by the eighteenth-century French author, Voltaire, whose protagonist, Candide, is naïve and credulous. There is no connection between the connotations of the OV and those of the DV. The subtitle uses the name 'Laverge': 'verge' is a synonym of 'penis' and is a feminine word. By combining 'La' and 'Verge' the translator has created a family name which successfully reproduces the sexual connotations of the original. The translations operate on two very different levels: innocence and naivety (DV) and sex (SV). Finally, the OV uses the adjective 'horny' and then the verb 'shag': two British-English vocabulary choices. The SV successfully recreates the sexual content of the original by referring twice to the male organ with 'la trique' and 'la tringle'.

Visually, Spike is the main focus and the camera moves between him and Giles. These shots do not change in translation, but because they allow seeing the actors' facial expressions in details we notice that the combination of facial expressions and words is altered; consequently humour and irony in the various versions work on different levels.

Translating a passage loaded with cultural elements and sexual connotations is a difficult task. In this particular episode, the irony is that the characters are expressing their Britishness in French. This short analysis has shown that translating voices, accents and register is an extremely challenging task. There is not a 'one fit for all'

solution and one way of tackling this can be to consider aspects such as characterisation when making translation choices. However, here, Spike's characterisation, mainly based on otherness, is altered in French translation and particularly in the DV as he is toned down and his use of British slang is neutralised.

The reasons behind the changes in the SV and DV could be multiple. In France, dubbing is usually made for broadcast whereas subtitling is done for DVD. This means that there are two different audiences for a translated audiovisual product and the audience for dubbed versions is a larger one. It is believed that the larger the audience, the more neutralised the language. Therefore, because of audience requirements, highly localised features could inevitably be lost in any translation.[36] This could explain why there is blandness in the DV although it still manages to convey some Britishness. The SV is closer to the original, not only because of linguistic choices but also because the quality of the original voices is maintained.

Does translation have an impact on Spike's portrayal? In the Scooby Gang Spike is an outsider. He is the vampiric other and his Britishness further reinforces this sense of not belonging. Spike is recognisably different on various levels and it seems fair to say that Whedon's intentions when making him English were to accentuate this otherness. By effacing layers of Spike's identity dubbing does facilitate the internationalisation of the vampire's identity. Indeed, via translation, the vampire is assimilated to the new culture and Dracula's desire to efface otherness can finally be reached, if only linguistically. However, depending on the translation strategies otherness and cultural identity can still stand out, as it does in the SV. Gelder explains that 'the vampire [thus] both enables a national identity to cohere, and ceaselessly disturbs that identity by showing it to be always at the same time foreign to itself'.[37]

Translation can also do this: despite having lost his signature accent in the French DV, Spike is still recognisably British on certain occasions and ultimately, even if to a different degree, the translated vampire remains 'both "genuine" *and* introduced, pure and corrupted, nationally identified and alien, a "foreign importation"'.[38]

Notes

1 *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, created Joss Whedon (USA: Warner Bros/UPN, 1997–2003).

2 In France, the norm is to dub audiovisual products screened in mainstream cinemas and on television but with DVDs and cable television audiences can also watch subtitled versions. In this article the subtitled and dubbed versions of *BtVS* are used as they appear on the DVD produced for the French market.

3 Ken Gelder, *Reading the Vampire* (London and New York, Routledge, 1994), pp. 24-41, p. 12.

4 Charlotte Bosseaux, *How Does it Feel. Point of View in Translation* (Amsterdam and New York, Rodopi, 2007); and Charlotte Bosseaux, '*Buffy the Vampire Slayer.* Characterisation in the Musical Episode of the TV Series', special issue of *The Translator: Studies in Intercultural Communication*, 14:2 (2008), 343-72.

5 Richard Dyer, *Stars* (London, British Film Institute, 1998), p. 151.

6 See, for example, Dyer, *Stars*, and Andrew Klevan, *Film Performance* (London and New York, Wallflower Press, 2005).

7 David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 3rd edn (Oxford, Blackwell, 1991), p. 376.

8 See, for example, Michel Chion, *The Voice in Cinema*, ed. and trans. Claudia Gorbman (New York, Columbia University Press, 1999).

9 Klevan, *Film Performance*, pp. 28, 33-5, and 76,

10 Daniel Meyer-Dinkgräfe, 'Thoughts on Dubbing Practice in Germany: Procedures, Aesthetic Implications and Ways Forward', *Scope. An Online Journal of Film Studies*, 8 (2006), www.scope.nottingham.ac.uk/article.php?issue=5&id=131 [accessed 19 November 2012].

11 For more details on other modes, see Luis Pérez-González, 'Audiovisual Translation', in Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha (eds), *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, 2nd revised and extended edition (London and New York, Routledge, 2009), pp. 13-20.

12 The text must stay no longer than 6 seconds on screen (this is called the '6 second rule'); the maximum number of characters used at one time is 70 (including spaces and punctuation).

13 Henrik Gottlieb, 'Multidimensional translation: semantics turned semiotics', *Proceedings MuTra* (2005), www.euroconferences.info/proceedings/2005_Proceedings/2005_Gottlieb_Henrik.pdf [accessed 11 July 2011], p. 21.

14 Gottlieb, 'Multidimensional translation', p. 11.

15 Dyer, *Stars*.

16 Dubbing by Prodac (Seasons 1-4)/ Libra Films (5-7); subtitling by Visiontext.

17 'Becoming Part 2', dir. and writ. Joss Whedon, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, created Joss Whedon, 2.21 (first broadcast 12 May 1998).

18 Peter Fawcett, 'The manipulation of language and culture in film translation', in Maria Calzada Pérez (ed.), *Apropos Ideology* (Manchester, St Jerome, 2003), pp. 145-163.

19 Milly Williamson, *The Lure of the Vampire. Gender, Fiction and Fandom from Bram Stoker to Buffy* (London and New York, Wallflower Press, 2005), p. 72.

20 Rhonda Wilcox, *Why Buffy Matters* (London and New York, I. B Tauris, 2005) p. 81.

21 Williamson, *The Lure*, p. 160.

22 For example, see Gelder, *Reading*, pp. 24-41.

23 Amy-Chinn D. and Milly Williamson, 'The Vampire Spike in Text and Fandom: Unsettling Oppositions in Buffy the Vampire Slayer', *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 8:3 (2005), pp. 275-288, p. 279.

24 Gelder points out that Byron's vampire Darvell, the ancestor of all these, is one of his 'citizens of the world' (*Reading*, p. 30).

25 The 'Scooby Gang' are Buffy's circle of vampire-slaying friends.

26 Gelder, *Reading*, p. 27.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 12

30 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

31 Sue Turnbull, 'Moments of Inspiration. Performing Spike', *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 8:3 (2005), 367-73 (p. 367).

32 'Tabula Rasa', 6.8, dir. Rebecca Rand Kirshner, writ. David Grossman (first broadcast 13 November 2001).

33 The scene occurs at Chapter 6. Giles starts speaking at 00:17: 23.

34 For reasons of space, only the back translations of the French DV and SV have been reproduced and the French words are used in the analysis.

35 Generally connotations of Britishness vary in the DV and SV; for example, in 'Amends' (3.10), Buffy and Giles are reading books about demons with complex and ridiculous stories. She tells him 'No wonder you like this stuff, it's like reading *The Sun*'. The DV has 'Je ne vois pas à quoi ça nous avance, c'est complètement nébuleux' [I don't see how this helps us, it's completely nebulous]. The SV translates 'Pas étonnant que cela vous plaise. On dirait *le Sun.*' [it's not surprising that you like this. It's like reading *The Sun*] (dir. and writ. Joss Whedon (first broadcast 15 December 1998)).

36 Jean-Louis Sarthou, 'Plus la traduction est destinée à un vaste public, plus on demande au traducteur de banaliser, d'aseptiser, son langage', in Nigel Armstrong and Federico M. Federici (eds), *Translating Voices* (London, Aracne, 2006), pp. 216-29.

37 Gelder, *Reading*, p. 41.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 40.